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Due to certain political necessities and financial constraints, rulers in late medieval society were subject to increasing criticism and the force of public opinion. Although kings and princes exercised great power over their domains, the very nature of this power made them susceptible to their subjects' wishes. The ambiguity of their position is reflected in the rhetoric of advice whereby it is possible to express reverence to a ruler while at the same time challenging his policies.[1] *Richard the Redeles* employs this discourse of counsel in a subtle manner, on the surface appearing to advise King Richard II, just as his predecessor Walter de Milemete had proffered counsel to Edward III:[2]

> And as my body and my beste oute to be my liegis,
> So rithffully be reson my rede shuld also,
> For to conceill, and I couthe, my kyng and the lordis;
> And ther-for I [fondyd] with all my fyue wyttis
> To traueile on this tretis to teche men ther-after
> To be war of wylffulnesse lest wondris arise. (I, 47-52)[3]

Significantly, the poem was composed shortly after the deposition of King Richard II, a period of exciting developments, with the corrupt reign of Richard having ended abruptly, and that of Henry newly begun. By appearing to advise Richard the poet is, in fact, counselling Henry, a clever way of negotiating the dangers of directly criticizing the king. The adoption of this stategy on the part of the poet has serious implications. It essentially places Richard's errors to the fore, illustrating a fear as well as hopeful expectation of what the future holds for the governance of England.

Attacking a king's advisers was an accepted means of expressing disapproval of the king and his policies, a tactic which was employed in many poems and chronicle narratives. An Anglo-Norman poem from c.1338 criticises Edward III in this manner:

> Houme ne doit a roy retter talem pravitatem
> Mes al maveis consiler per ferocitatem.
> Le roy est jeovene bachiler, nec habet etatem
> Nulle malice compasser set omnem probitatem
> Consilium tale dampnum confert generale.
> (*Against the King's Taxes* 36-40)[4]
> One must not impute such wickedness to the king, but to his evil counsellor in his savagery. The king is such a young knight and not of an age to compose any trickery, but to act in all honesty. Such a measure works general havoc.

This idea that advisers are somehow the blame for a king's follies is of intrinsic importance in *Richard the Redeles*. The poet organises his criticism and guidance upon one basic opposition which runs throughout the poem, namely that of good and bad counsellors. In order to achieve worthwhile results one must follow advice, but advice will only be of value and not harmful if received from the correct authorities. Thus the nature of advice is determined by the character of the advisers. The evilness of Richard's counsellors as defined by their actions precludes any guidance given by them being of value. They are contrasted with the Appellant Lords, who are deemed worthy men and ideal for this role of advice-givers.

Towards the end of Passus I the poet reveals his true intent:

> And wayte well my wordis and wrappe hem to-gedir,
> And construwe [clerlie] the clause in thin herte
> Of maters that I thenke to meve for the best
> For kyngis and [kayseris] comynge here-after. (I, 169-172)

Under the pretence of advising Richard, who will never rule again, he is in fact endeavouring to counsel Henry. The reason for the subtle manner in which he presents his guidance stems from his desire not to antagonise his prince:

> And if ony word write be that wrothe make myghte
> My souereyne, that suget I shulde to be,
> I put me in his power and preie him, of grace,
> To take the entent of my trouthe that thoughte non ylle,
> For to wrath no wyght be my wyll neuere,
> As my soule be saff from synne at myn ende. (I, 76-81)

He reveres the truth, and says that if he was a member of the king's council he would show the king the truth. He swears by Christ, who saved him, that he would do so. It is the duty of counsellors to advice the monarch in accord with the Scriptures and the law of God. On several occasions he modestly apologises for his lack of knowledge and crude understanding (II, 53-6). He even invites the reader to use his faculty for counsel to correct his work (I, 57-60, III, 35). One should not annoy one's lord, but if through the grace of God one has the intuition to perceive some malpractices, one should not hesitate to inform the king:

> For and he be blessid the better the betydyth
> In tyme for to telle him for thi trewe herte. (II, 75-6)

As Hoccleve says:

> Of counceill and of helpe we be dettoures
> Eche to other, by right of bretherhede;
> For whan a man y-falle in-to errour is,
> His brother ought hym counceille and rede
> To correcte and amende his wikked dede;
> And yf he be vexed with maladie
> Mynystre hym helpe, his greef to remedie.
> (*Regement of Princes* 2486-92)[5]

Thus the poet is morally obliged as the king's loyal subject to advise him on the correct course of action. His advice will only be of value, though, according to medieval thinking, if he has the necessary qualifications to be a counsellor. The poet is a man of experience, acquainted with the events of Richard's reign, and, as a resident of Bristol, possibly an eyewitness of the demise of Richard's favourites.[6] Furthermore, by drawing upon the tradition of *advice to princes* he lends authority and a sense of weight to his words. Thus he is establishing himself in a position of authority like that of the chroniclers. They were, for the most part, learned men in the service of God, writing frequently for a prince. The Duke of Gloucester ordered a copy of the *Chronicon Angliae*,[7] while Walsingham wrote the *Ypodigma Neustriae* for Henry V, as a manual of English and Norman history. Adam of Usk not only advised Henry IV through the medium of his pen, but also did so in person, as part of the council that

deliberated Henry's legal claim to the throne. These men did not content themselves only with recounting historic events but also drew morals and lessons to be learned. The *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort du Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, like *Richard the Redeles,* is written for the express purpose of advocating a new course of action. The writer wishes to rouse the French nobles into removing the usurper Henry from power by relating the sad end of Richard, just as the *Richard the Redeles* poet desires to counsel the king on governing.[8]

In order to appreciate what is happening in *Richard the Redeles*, it will be necessary to consider it in the light of the *advice to princes.* To do this I will survey this tradition, establishing its broad outlines, and then proceed to examine the poem in the light of this. Although the poet uses a range of narrative strategies, such as beast lore, lapidary symbolism and personification, a few themes can be traced through the entire text, all of which deal with aspects of the concept of advice. These themes will be further elucidated through comparison with the chronicles which recount the same events.

Medieval taste in literature reflects a marked preference for works which provide instruction. Library catalogues, including those of princes list numerous works on history and moral topics. Richard II's tutor, Simon Burley, possessed a French translation of Ægidius Romanus, while Edward IV owned a version of the *Secreta Secretorum.* In most moral works the topic of advice and advisers is dealt with at least briefly. A rich vein of moral works existing in many manuscripts and versions stems from the French treatise *Le Somme des Vices et des Vertues*, dating from the year 1279 and composed for the benefit of Philip II of France by Frère Lorens. An early English version from c.1340 is the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, a literal translation of the French, while other versions include *Vices and Virtues* and *The Book of Vices and Virtues.* All three redactions stress how counsel is a gift of God.[9] The grace of the Holy Spirit inspires men to seek good counsel. People fall, we are informed, for want of advice, a principle attributed to Solomon. When one is in receipt of this wonderful gift of grace one is proof against bad advice (*Ayenbite of Inwyt* p.184). Flatterers and the givers of bad advice are designated the devil's nurses:

> Þe blonderes byeþ þe dyeules noriches. Þet his children yeueþ zouke and doþ ham slepe ine hare zenne be hare uayre zang. Hy

smerieþ þane way of helle mid hony ase me deþ to þe bere uor þet þe zeneȝere hine ssolde guo þe hardylaker.[10]

One should steel oneself against their honeyed tongues. Motivated by self-interest, they lie, saying what they think their lord wishes to hear.[11] Despite the dangers of listening to advice, it is still worse not to receive guidance. One should seek it blithely (*The Book of Vices and Virtues* p.188) and do all things in accord with it (*Vices and Virtues* pp.71, 75; *The Book of Vices and Virtues* p.188), having first ensured that it does not conflict with the teachings of the Scripture. Great deeds are done through guidance, while nothing of importance is ever achieved without it. This is most important in the case of a prince, and as *The Book of Vices and Virtues* informs us, referring to Solomon once more, a kingdom is saved through good counsellors and advice.[12] The most ignorant are those in need of counsel, according to the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*.[13] The example of Rehoboam is dwelt upon. He first consulted the wise old men, but did not like what he heard. Ignoring their sage words, he then inquired of young men who expressed opinions, which were amenable to him. It was their opinions that he acted upon, taxing his people heavily, thereby losing half his kingdom.[14]

John of Salisbury in his immensely influential Twelfth Century work *Policraticus*, following Plutarch, defines a wise man as he who listens silently to advice.[15] The parasite or flatterer and the proud prince are mutually dependent. John of Salisbury discusses the examples taken from Greek drama of the parasite Gnatho and the braggart captain Thraso (*Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, Book VIII: chap.1, esp. p.294), and then cites the case of Trajan as an exemplum of correct behaviour (*The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, Book IV: chap. 8, pp.38-9). Trajan, a man of great prudence, rejected bad advice and refused to permit the sacrifice of Christians. The onus is likewise on every man to seek good advice and acquire wisdom (*The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, Book IV: chap. 6, p.28). It is for this reason that Philip asked Aristotle to educate Alexander. John of Salisbury says that his book, which aims to emulate Aristotle's advice, is based on Plutarch's letter of instruction for Trajan, a work which has never surfaced (*The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, Book V: chap.1-2, pp.63-4). He also alludes constantly to the epistle, supposedly by Aristotle, entitled *Secreta Secretorum* and intended for Alexander, which enjoyed

widespread circulation and was redacted in English and French many times throughout the Middle Ages. The most easily accessible are the nine English redactions of either the whole text or a part, the *Secretum Secretorum*, collected by M. A. Manzalaoui, the three complete English translations published in a volume entitled *Secreta Secretorum* by Robert Steele, and the version by Lydgate and Burgh.[16] The different redactions vary greatly, omitting and including different items, but all deal with counsel. One should take advice before acting (*The Secrete of Secretes* pp.33-4; *The Gouernaunce of Prynces* p.210), they exhort, and from more than one man. It is unwise to trust everything to a sole individual as he could be acting out of self-interest. It is suggested that a king should possess five counsellors, just as he has five wits (*The Gouernaunce of Prynces* p.209; Ashmole *Secrete Of Secretes* pp.74-7). Furthermore, one should not trust those who are covetous and, in fact it is always prudent to test one's counsellors.[17] Fifteen virtues are listed which a good counsellor should possess.[18]

Similar to the *Secretum Secretorum* is the *De Regimine Principum* tradition, which was initiated by St. Thomas Aquinas. In the thirteenth century he wrote *De Regno, Ad Regem Cypri*, which was expanded and developed by his pupil Tolomeo of Lucca into *De Regimine Principum*. Ægidius Romanus followed, writing his treatise of the same name in 1280. There are three extant French translations, besides two Italian, a Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew and English version. Its popularity can be measured by the fact that it was present in nearly all the libraries of Medieval Europe.[19]

Richard the Redeles commences by expressing the deepest sympathy for Richard over how the king has suffered. While Richard was in his health and governed correctly, the poet was loyal to him. Unfortunately the king was led astray through the wicked advice of evil men, such as De Vere, Bushy, Green and Bagot. None of these men are mentioned by name, but are referred to via topical allusions and puns on their names. A balance is maintained through the contrast of these bad advisers and King Richard with the Lords Appellant and Henry Bolingbroke. Richard's followers are degenerate harts (II, 4-40) and kites (II, 158) who attack the noble horse, swan and bear (III, 11-34). The focus of the poem is chiefly on the events of the last two years of Richard's reign, leading up to the deposition, though the focus is occasionally widened to note earlier happenings. In order for a king to govern properly, he must be well in himself. The king is a

microcosm for the state and it is essential that he governs himself harmoniously, for it is on this basis that the successful governance of the state depends. Richard has forfeited his right to be king through his behaviour:

> Now, Richard the redeles reweth on you-self,
> That lawelesse leddyn youre lyf and youre peple bothe;
> For thoru the wyles and wronge and wast in youre tyme,
> Ye were lyghtlich ylyfte from that you leef thoughte,
> And from youre willfull werkis youre will was chaungid,
> And rafte was youre riott and rest, for your daiez
> Weren wikkid thoru youre cursid conceill; youre karis weren newed. (I, 88-94)

Richard, the head of state adhered to the counsel not of wise ministers like the five wits, but of wicked men. He was encouraged and counselled to follow his will. Thus instead of administering the realm harmoniously he commits an endless series of crimes. These are catalogued at length by the poet and read rather like the articles of deposition.[20] His waywardness, extravagance, and the intolerable burden such behaviour placed on his people is documented extensively, both in the poem and elsewhere.[21] This touches on the concept of kingship expressed in the encyclopedic *Secretum Secretorum*, which in its various manifestations includes a discussion of physical well-being, diet and morals, as well as an outline of the principles of governing. It essential that one eats wholesomely in order to maintain balance in one's body. Likewise the head of state governs in accord with the food with which it is provided, namely the advice and guidance it receives. Hence the *Richard the Redeles* poet blames Richard's advisers for the king's misdeeds. Richard was young upon succeeding to the throne, and easily manipulated by his counsellors. Initially he was considered essentially noble of heart by his subjects including the poet, rather like Amans in the *Confessio Amantis* and hence capable of improvement.[22] Gower points out that Richard could not govern successfully, unless he received adequate counsel, nor indeed could any other king. He was, as the *Richard the Redeles* poet explains, but an undisciplined young man, with sin springing up all around him. Regretably, the men whom he consulted owed him no deep allegiance and were loyal to him only as long as it was in their interests to be so. He was generous to them and they thrived under his

rule, but once Henry arrived, they deserted him out of the desire for self-preservation:[23]

> For whan ye list to lene to youre owen lymes,
> They were so feble and feynte for faughte of youre lawe,
> And so [wankel] and wayke wexe in the hammes. (II, 62-4)

The metaphor of the body was commonly used to represent the state. Unfortunately all is not well with this body politic, as it is unable to support its own weight. Richard's counsellors and friends are shallow worthless individuals with neither the inclination nor the ability to consolidate his position. The body of state is crippled by the ineptitude of the king and his followers. This was a standard criticism of the realm of Richard II, with Gower visualising it in *Vox Clamantis*, Book VI: chap. 7 as suffering from the disease of vice with no physician available to cure it.

The situation as presented in *Richard the Redeles* is more complex than this, for valuable counsel is available if the king should so desire. The poet is willing is to set him on the road to improvement, establishing himself as a figure of authority, like the chroniclers or Genius in the *Confessio Amantis*,[24] as we have already seen. In due course the *Richard the Redeles* poet continues to expound the ideal of kingship in Passus I, through lapidary images based on the crown. Lapidary imagery was well-established and the poet only needed to mention the names of the stones in order to conjure up their significance. The ruby signifies lordship, and by alluding to it he implies that Richard should light up his realm just as Christ radiates light through the whole world. The sapphire was held by medieval society to be the most suitable stone for a king to wear, as it is the most gentle, and does away with envy. The diamond represents strength and virtue; it protects the wearer from temptations, quells hatred, anger, and lechery, while maintaining him in his wit, value and riches.[25] Finally, the pearls suggest purity and innocence.

In order to utilize this crown to gain the maximum benefit, Richard needs wise counsel, and this can only be received from a certain class of people. Reason is introduced in Passus II, to expound upon the qualities that a true adviser should have. His criteria are the conventional prerequisites of the *advice to princes* tradition, which we surveyed earlier. No lord should be allowed transgress against the law, while the fierce words of boasters and braggers should be ignored. A

man on the king's council ought to be a person of learning and good conscience, who is loyal and true to his word. He ought to be above bribery, and self-sufficient, living on his own income, in which case he would not swerve from the path of justice for money. Hence Gower cautions in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, that especial caution should be taken with the avaricious.[26] This is what should be desired and relied upon, not the numbers of men who wear one's livery. The *Richard the Redeles* poet relates this to Richard:

> Thus were ye disceyued thoru youre duble hertis
> That neuere weren to truste so God saue my soule! (II, 111-2)

The pun on *duble hertis* conveys how Richard was deceived by the falseness of his followers and the doubling of their numbers. He felt secure in their numbers, whereas in reality he just had a great many disloyal retainers.

The poet states that Richard's favourites fell sadly short of the prerequisites for advice-giving and this has serious implications for the counsel they gave. For if they were unfit, it follows that their advice was unfit. In fact they merely took advantage of Richard, as the poet implies, describing how they rode him like a horse at a reckless pace to destruction:

> But for ye cleued to knavis in this cas I avowe,
> That boldid thi burnes to belde vppon sorowe,
> And stirid you stouttely till ye stombled all. (I, 199-201)

Whereas wise counsel is certainly of benefit, the advice of those ill-fitted to give it is more of a noose than a restraint.[27] The reasons why they were not capable of fulfilling the role of advice-givers are clearly spelt out. They were young (175)[28] and of low standing, *knavis* (I, 199) and *gylours of hem-self* (I, 112). Their behaviour left a lot to be desired, and there was little that the people could do about it, as we learn in lines 139-49. Robert de Vere, the figure alluded to in these lines, was especially unpopular, and Walsingham goes as far as to say that he placed the king under a magic spell. De Vere had deserted his wife, a lady of royal descent, granddaughter of Edward III and married Queen Anne's lady-in-waiting, but Richard simply ignored this slight on his family.[29] Meanwhile, the barons were perturbed by the granting of favours to such men at the expense of more senior figures of higher

social standing. On the 13 October 1386 De Vere was created Duke of Ireland,[30] while later in the reign a large number of dukes were created on one occasion, an act the poet singles out for criticism in Passus IV line 93.[31] Blinded by such individuals, Richard fails to recognise his true friends, Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick. They fall victim to *busshinge adoun,*[32] a reference to Bushy, one of these new dukes. He is later brought to justice by Henry along with the others whom Richard has thus favoured. This is recounted in a passage commencing 152ff., playing upon the names of the friends of the latter part of Richard's reign:

> Thus baterid this bred on busshes aboughte,
> And gaderid gomes on grene ther as they walkyd
> That all the schroff and schroup sondrid from other. (II, 152-4)

These men, Bushy, Green, and Scrope,[33] along with Bagot, were the subject of much loathing and abhorrence. Bushy had a long political career, during which he changed allegiance, and as speaker of the house did an excellent job of controlling parliament for the king.[34] When the king departed on his second campaign to Ireland, he left the realm in the hands of these men, under the titular authority of the rather weak Duke of York.[35] Much of the political satire of the period plays upon their names.[36]

In *Richard the Redeles* these ministers are likened to kites, parasitic birds, who live off carrion and when compelled to hunt, prey upon small, defenceless, domestic birds. As F. McCullough says, kites are 'timid in large undertakings, bold in small.'[37] Thus, as the poet implies, it is easy to see where Richard received guidance for his actions, preying upon his defenceless subjects, extorting money. His errors in administration mirror those of his counsellors, save on a larger scale. Henry purges the kingdom, allowing neither kites nor crows to flourish or escape punishment (II, 145-192).

The lesson to be learnt is that one should not simply choose counsellors on the basis that they look the part. A gilded fine exterior may hide a rotten centre:

> For ben they rayed arith they recchith no forther,
> But studieth all in strouutynge and stireth amys euere.
> (III, 120-1)

In fact, as the poet points out, 'ho is riall of his ray that light reede him folwith' (III, 125). Money flows through their hands like water, as they squander all their wealth. Through their activities the currency is devalued, with the common people suffering most. Fortunately the wheel will turn and such deceivers will suffer for their folly. This is a thoroughly conventional view that men will suffer for their sins. If Richard and his aids had followed the example of Regulus in *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*, a handbook of examples of good and bad men, all these evils and the bitter harvest they reaped could have been avoided. Fortune had no place in Regulus' life because he was so virtuous (p.123). Should one not follow the path of virtue one could suffer in the long term like Sardanapalus, a symbol of cupidity and extravagance (pp.58-60), or Jacques de Molay, who grew incredibly wealthy, with the result that he became addicted to licentious living (p.228).[38] One was expected to learn from these figures how to govern oneself, through seeing what not to do. Likewise the *Richard the Redeles* poet suggests through the description of Richard's deposition and the sorry end of his friends that one should moderate one's behaviour, an implication perhaps aimed at those in positions of power in the new regime.

Richard's supporters are depicted as caring for nothing except fur-trimmed garments, long sleeves trailing to their heels, and all manner of finery (III, 175-81). For a lord to listen to the utterances of men concerned with such frivolities is madness. The long description of the courtiers' fashionable clothing conveys how they are little more than animated mannequins. Contempt for these figures is the dominant tone, with the poet personifying the *sleues that slode vppon the erthe* in the scene that focuses on Wit as he feels that these trailing sleeves encapsulate the superficiality of their characters. This innovation on the part of the poet breathes new life into a standard element of satire in moral and philosophical works, the critique of fashion. *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, for instance, stresses that rich clothing is worn by those who desire to please this world. It cites Saint Bernard's view that:

> Þei cloþen hem....in purpre and in faire cloþes and riche, and vnder þilke faire araie ofte-tymes ben wel pore in consciences.[39]

The lovers of elaborate attire neither act nor are capable of counselling, in accord with the Scriptures. They are simply vacuous beings

concerned entirely with superficialities and the gratification of their own vanity. Hence the love of splendid ornate clothing symbolises more than anything else the degeneracy and folly of the times. Fashion became gradually more and more elaborate as the fourteenth century progressed. The trend commenced with the arrival of Philippa of Hainault and flourished under the tutelage of Richard.[40] Richard and his friends were noted for their love of fashion, with Scrope for example paying more attention to the detail of his costume upon the occasion of the appeal in parliament of Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick and Mortimer, than to the seriousness of the undertaking.[41]

These fashionable young men are not above flattery, and indeed flattery is the only route to success in Richard's England. In *Richard the Redeles* those who do not conform to this image of a courtier, honey-tongued, well-attired and abreast of the trends in fashion, are shunned. Goodness avails men little, while flattery works wonders. The success men gain through *beringe vppon oilles* (III, 186) causes them to transgress even more. They are deemed diabolical men by the poet, like the devil's nurses mentioned in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, who are extremely untrustworthy. Furthermore, according to Gower:

> Ther myhte be no worse thing
> Aboute a kinges regalie,
> Thanne is the vice of flaterie.
> (*Confessio Amantis* Book VII, 2204-6)[42]

We learn the result of this vice in *Richard the Redeles* Passus II, 120, where we are informed that the young deer, the people of the realm, suffer starvation as flatterers steel their food. The land should be cleansed of these flatterers, and the king ought instead select knights who govern themselves well, speaking measuredly after due consideration; men who have worked in their day and are temperate in their manner of living. If this were done virtue would triumph.

These men with their honeyed tongues blinded Richard so that he failed to recognise the noble experienced men, who were at hand to counsel him. The Lords Appellant, made a vain attempt nonetheless, to advise, rebelling against Richard's earlier favourites. In the Wonderful Parliament, alluded to in Passus II lines 57-60, they had set up a committee to advise the king and aid him in governing, and also to institute certain governmental reforms.[43] In Passus III we learn of the sad end these lords met for their troubles. The conflict between

these lords and Richard's later favourites is expressed through beast lore, with their emblems animated like the white hart badges. The Duke of Gloucester is the swan, the Earl of Warwick the bear and the Earl of Arundel the horse. The death of Arundel was greatly lamented, with many regarding him as a martyr.[44] Bushy was especially active in his demise:[45]

> This is [clerie] hir hynde coltis [not] to greue,
> Ne to hurlle with haras ne hors well atamed,
> Ne to stryue with swan though it sholle werre,
> Ne to bayten on the bere ne bynde him nother,
> Ne to wilne to woo that were hem ny sibbe,
> Ne to liste for to loke that her alie bledde;
> This was ayeins kynde as clerkis me tolde. (III, 26-32)

The unnaturalness of these actions, namely of evil men who are not fit to give counsel, protecting the positions which by rights they should not have is highlighted through the poet's choice of analogy. According to beast lore deer when they grew old and feeble could seek out adders. By feeding upon adders they could regain their health and revitalise their hides, and incidentally do away with cursed creatures. These harts, however, attack noble horses, strive with swans and hunt bears. Therefore the elevation of Richard's friends at the expense of his natural counsellors is presented as against nature.

Wisdom is not desired in the corrupt court of Richard II, but outer beauty and adornment. The short scene focusing on Wit amply illustrates this. He is reviled and beaten for trying to gain admittance to court. The courtiers jeer at his clothing and upon learning his name they banish him. His name is unfamiliar to both them and the king and they thus desire nothing to do with him. The poet uses a telling contrast between Wisdom (outside the court, and deprived of the opportunity to advise the king) and Impudence (inside the court, and given great authority). He identifies in III, 235ff. Impudence, the opposite to Wisdom in this little allegory, with Youth:

> And alle the berdles burnes bayed on him euere,
> And schorned him, for his slaueyn was of the olde schappe.
> Thus Malaperte was myghtffull and maister of hous,
> And euere wandrid Wisdom without the gatis. (III, 235-8)

He introduces the theme of the advisability of old, mature counsellors, by depicting the young men as mocking Wisdom, not those who are old and wise in years. As far as the poet is concerned these young men have no business governing or advising. He employs a variant on the traditional three estates structure, foregrounding the issue of age and maturity:

> That iche rewme vndir roff of the reyne-bowe
> Sholde stable and stonde be these thre degres:
> By gouerna[un]ce of grete and of good age;
> By styffnesse and strengthe of steeris well y-yokyd,
> That beth myghthffull men of the mydill age;
> And be laboreris of lond that lyfflode ne fayle. (III, 248-53)

Middle-aged men are strong and steady and may be relied on to defend the land, while the old have the necessary experience and acquired wisdom to rule. Youth has little part in all this and is perhaps a time of learning and growing, in order to attain these qualities. The labourers, although humble, are the mainstay, the solid foundation of the state.

The concept that certain qualities are natural to each age is Aristotelian in origin. In the *Art of Rhetoric* he provides a series of vignettes for men of different ages and estates.[46] In the Middle Ages this was developed, and a range of schemes concerned with the ages of man sprang up. Common to all of them is the view that youth is a stage of unreliability and development.[47] The *Richard the Redeles* poet certainly subscribes to this view:

> For it fallith as well to fodis of xxiiij yeris,
> Or yonge men of yistirday to yeue good redis,
> As becometh a kow to hoppe in a cage ! (III, 260-2)

In fact as Adam of Usk (p.36) points out, Richard is guilty of Rehoboam's error of attending to the advice of the young and suffers similarly for it. Rehoboam lost half his realm, while Richard forfeited everything. Society has been turned on its head, with the entire fabric in shreds. A trend started, the *Richard the Redeles* poet claims, by the king ignoring his experienced old nobles and magnates and attending to the words of young upstarts:

This was a wondir world ho-so well lokyd,
That gromes ouere-grewe so many grette maistris. (III, 343-4)

There are many wrongs which the poet could relate 'The while the degonys domes weren so endauntid' (III, 350). Richard's acting in accord with the advice of blunderers and bumpkins, men of little consequence, leads to hardship in the realm. When evil is thus rampant the end is nigh; a view the poet shares with Adam of Usk who points out that Henry is the eagle saviour mentioned in the prophecy of Merlin. He is also the person Bridlington refers to as the dog because his badge was a collar of greyhounds and he came in the dog-days.[48] Several literary analogues can be found expressing similar sentiments, as it was a traditional means of expressing strong disapproval of an administration to suggest, using apocalyptic imagery, that things have now reached such an impasse that the end looms ever nearer. For instance, the prologue to *Wynnere and Waster* contains a number of garbled prophecies referring to the complete breakdown of society, some of which are attributed to Soloman:

(It hyeghte harde appone honde, hope I non oþer):
'When wawes waxen schall wilde and walles bene doun,
And hares appon herthe-stones schall hurcle in hire fourme,
And eke boyes of no blode with boste and with pryde
Schall wedde ladyes in londe and lede at hir will,
Thene dredfull domesdaye it draweth neghe aftir.' (11-16)

That which is wild overtakes deserted civilisation, with hares crouching on the hearth-stones. When wretches of no lineage marry ladies, hierarchical distinctions will have collapsed. Admittedly this poem is discussing the aftermath of the Plague and not Richard's reign, but the thinking behind the passage is the same. In both poems and Adam of Usk's chronicle the only result that can be envisaged for a society where evil is pervasive is its demise. In the case of *Richard the Redeles* and Adam of Usk the end leads to a new beginning with the arrival of Henry.

The poem, of course lacks an ending, merely petering out. Helen Barr suggests that this possibly indicates the poet's desire to demonstrate the degenerate nature of the times in England, of how the king and his advisers abandoned their duty. He has similarly abandoned his, the finishing of his poem. The last word is after all, she points

out, *forsoke*.[49] This argument fails to convince as the poet has amply illustrated this throughout the poem. Many poems lack endings due to the manuscript becoming damaged, or because the scribe was unable to read the exemplar at that point. On the other hand several poems were probably left incomplete such as Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, due to being abandoned by the author. Thus the poet could simply have fallen prey to a common failing, that of reconciling the many strands of his poem. Much of the spirit of the poem is created by the use of conventional tropes, as Daniel Embree has demonstrated. He points out how *Richard the Redeles* contains the conventional scene of the Sothsegger at the Court. A King above all requires someone who will tell him the truth. Wit would fulfil this role admirably. He approaches the court, in order to counsel the king, but instead of being welcomed, he is subjected to brute force and expelled. This type-scene has a long tradition behind it developing out of the Triumph of Vice topos, one form of the World Upside-Down tradition.[50] Indeed, vice is victorious in *Richard the Redeles*, with evil usurping former virtue. The innocent young king is corrupted by wicked advisers. Unscrupulous men people the parliament, with violence commonplace and the multitude enduring tremendous hardship. Traditional order is subverted, with lineage and experience counting for little.

The Sothsegger at Court type-scene constitutes the last link in a chain, which includes the Defeat of Truth, and the Exile of Truth topoi (Daniel Howard Embree, pp.30-1). Of particular importance is the latter, which involved the emergence of truth as a personification, with the exile of this figure as the focus of the poem. The exile of Truth from the centre of the poem results in all the wickedness. Initially, however, Middle English complaints like *The Evils of Taxation,* and *Retainers* were little more than a catalogue of evils.[51] Later these lists of wrongs were transformed into a desire to do something constructive. Hence in *Richard the Redeles* the complaint against the times, surveying the evil present in society, is combined with the advice to kings tradition. The poet felt compelled to endeavour to ameliorate the evils prevalent in England at the end of Richard II's reign, fearing that they might simply continue under Henry. Indeed the grievances endured by people at the end of the fourteenth century were comparable to those suffered under the governance of Edward III. At the beginning of the latter's reign, Mortimer and Isabella administered England, as the king was a mere boy. In fact it was 1330 before he was able to take the reins of the realm into his own hands. It was during the early

years of his rule that the Hundred Years' War commenced, which was to prove a considerable drain on finance. The situation grew tense once the initial successes faded away, with taxation remaining at an inflated level. To add to this misery, the Black Death arrived in 1348, devastating a third of the population. Furthermore, Edward III was blighted by senility in his last years and succumbed to the influence of his mistress, Alice Perrers, adhering to her advice in all matters.[52] Henry IV's governship of England was also to be quite turbulent, plagued by rebellions and foreign wars. Taxation had to be maintained at a high rate to finance his retaliation. Nor did it prove possible for him to reduce household expenses. In fact, the period of least borrowing and lowest taxation occurred in Richard's reign, during the years of appeasement between 1389-95, when he governed carefully and sensibly, consolidating his rule after the upheaval of the Wonderful Parliament.

Although welcoming Henry, envisaging him as a ray of hope coming from the east, the poet is aware that the new monarch may well follow his predecessors, by transgressing into error. Richard had failed to learn from the events of the last years of his grandfather's reign, or indeed from the demise of Edward II, with whom he was frequently compared. They shared a predilection for favourites, who enjoyed the odium of the rest of the nation.[53] Thus the poet attempts to counsel Henry to learn from Richard's mistakes and be a ray of sunshine, a maternal loving eagle. The fact that on the surface he appears to advise Richard, who is no longer in a position to receive advice or to alter the course of events, illustrates what can happen when counsel falls on unwilling ears. Political figures such as the Appellant Lords and writers such as Gower attempted in vain to guide the king, and the poet casts himself in a role like theirs, of well-intentioned adviser who is ignored. We know and the poet knows that it is no longer possible to advise Richard as he has been deposed, but the implication of the poet's strategy is that had he counselled the king sooner and, more importantly, had the king listened, all would have been well. An insensitive wilful individual will destroy himself and his surroundings. The ending can only be supplied by Henry, which may very well explain why the poet finished his poem so abruptly, as the onus is on Henry to act upon the advice with which he has been provided.[54]

NOTES

[1] Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, p.187. Ferster's study provides some excellent insights on the rhetoric of advice, concentrating on the *Secretum Secretorum* in Ireland, Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*, the *Confessio Amantis*, Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, and Macchiavelli's *The Prince*. The purpose of the present article is to examine *Richard the Redeles*, which is not dealt with in her monograph, and see how it fits in and contributes to this tradition.

[2] In 1326-1327 Walter de Milemete presented the treatise entitled *De Nobilitatibus Sapientiis et Prudentiis Regum* (ed. M.R. James, London , Roxburghe Club,1913) to Edward III, who was in possession of the realm, although not yet administering it personally. This treatise provided Edward with guidance on the principles of governing. For an earlier example of this tradition see St. Thomas Aquinas *On Kingship: to the King of Cyprus*, trans. Gerald B. Phelan, rev. Ignatius K.T. Eschmann, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1949 and 1978, esp. Dedication, p.2.

[3] All quotations from *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, ed. Helen Barr, London, Everyman, 1993.

[4] *Anglo-Norman Political Poems*, ed. Isabel S.T. Aspin, Oxford, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1953. *Maveis Consiler*, probably refers to John Stratford, the king's unpopular chief adviser at the time of the 1337-40 financial crisis, when Edward III was 25.

[5] All quotations from *Hoccleve's Works*, ed. Frederick Furnivall, London, EETS, 1879 (EETS ES 72).

[6] Bushy, Green and Scrope were executed by Henry at Bristol.

[7] There are many chronicle sources for the reign of Richard II, most of which are firmly biased in favour of Henry, with the exception of the French histories. Thomas Walsingham is the most important and prolific chronicler, writing the *Ypodigma Neustriae, Historia Anglicana* and *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*. The *Chronicon Angliae* is also normally attributed to him.

[8] The *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort du Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, ed. B. Williams, London , English Historical Society, 1846, pp.53-6 speaks at length of the king's lamentations, and goes on (p.63) to mention his humiliation. Jean Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second with a Copy of the Original', ed.

and trans. Rev. John Webb, *Archaeologia* XX, 1824, 1-423 (379-80) includes a ballade on the shameful treachery of Henry. On p.421 he speaks of the great evils perpetrated by the wicked English against their king and queen, and beseeches God to avenge them.

[9] *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Dan Michel, ed. Richard Morris, London , EETS,1866 (OS 23), p.183; *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Ferdinand Holthausen, London, EETS, 1888, 1921 (OS 89, 159), p.71; *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, London, EETS, 1942 (OS 217), p.188.

[10] *Ayenbite* p.60. See John of Salisbury's *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and trans. Joseph B. Pike, New York, Octagon Books, 1972. Book III: chap.4, esp. pp.159-160.

[11] See Richard Lavynham, *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. J.P.W.M. Van Zutphen, Rome, Institutum Carmelitanum,1956, p.7; *The Book of Vices* p.58.

[12] *The Book of Vices and Virtues* pp.188-9. See George Ashby's *Dicta and Opiniones diversorum Philosophorum* (in the edition of Mary Bateson, *The Poems*, London, EETS, 1899 (ES 76) from the late fifteenth century, based on the Latin original used by De Thignonville, and Hoccleve's The Regement of Princes 4859-65 for similar views.

[13] *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, trans. William Worcester and Stephen Scrope, ed. Curt F. Bühler, London , EETS, 1941 (OS 211), p.117. The text is based on the popular French redaction by De Tignonville of a work originally composed in Arabic by Jahja Ibn al Batrik around 1053, which then spread into Latin and Spanish.

[14] *Ayenbite* p.184; *The Book of Vices* p.189; See further the earlier *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. John Dickinson, New York, Russel and Russel, 1963, Book V; chap. 6, p.85, and the later *Active Policy of a Prince* by George Ashby, lines 814-20.

[15] *The Statesman's Book*, Book V: chap.6, p.90. A complete translation of the Twelfth Century *Policraticus* may be pieced together from *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury and Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*.

[16] *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. M. A. Manzalaoui, London, EETS, 1977 (OS 276), including *The Secrete of Secretes* from Bodleian Library MSS. Ashmole 396 and Lyell 36; *Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, London, EETS, 1898 (ES 74); *The Secrete of Secretes* (fourteenth century, from a shortened French version); *The Governance of Lordschipes* (soon after 1400 from the Latin); *The Gouernaunce of Prynces* trans James Yonge (1422, from French); *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, by John Lydgate and

Benedict Burgh, ed. Robert Steele, London, EETS, 1894 (ES 66). See pp.vii-xvi for a short history of the tradition; and also M. Manzalaoui, "*The Secretum Secretorum*: The Medieval European version of *Kitab Sirr-ul-Asrar*", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandra University* 15, 1961, 83-107.

[17] *Secrete of Secretes* p.35, and p.15; *The Governance of Lordschipes* p.102; *The Gouernaunce of Prynces* p.210; *The Regement of Princes* 4901-7.

[18] They are listed in *The Governance of Lordschipes,* pp.103-4:and *The Gouernaunce of Prynces* p.211.

[19] Herbert Ellsworth Childs, *A Study of the Unique Middle English Translation of "'De Regimine Principum"' of Ægidius Romanus*, University of Washinghton Ph.D. thesis1932, pp.8-15. He goes on (pp.34-46) to sketch the intellectual background of the treatise, and (pp.46-68) to summarize its contents. Furthermore, in Appendix A he includes large sections of the unique Middle English translation by John Trevisa, supplemented by quotation from the Latin.

[20] See the *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti* in Johannis de Trokelowe and Henrici de Blandeforde, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. Henry Riley Thomas, London, Rolls Series 28.3, 1886, pp.259-77. Article 1 stresses his evil government, how he gave things to unworthy individuals, resulting in intolerable burdens on the populace. Article 7 denounces his impoverishment of the people, while article 14 complains of the loans he exacted and never refunded.

[21] For instance, see the portrait of the king in the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. George B. Stow, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, pp.166-7 deals at length upon this. See . *Eulogium Historiarum* III, ed. Frank Scot Haydon, London, Rolls Series 9, 1863, p.384 and Adam of Usk , *Chronicon*, ed. E.M. Thompson, London, Henry Frowde, 1904, pp.29-30, for other views of the character of the king. The continuation of the *Polychronicon* IX, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, London, Rolls Series 41, 1886, p.80 speaks of the lavish liberality of the king, and comments (p.81) that it would be better if he took more consideration of the overtaxed people. In fact the high level of taxation constitutes one of the reasons for the lords rising against him (p.103).

[22] This was the opinion of Gower and Walsingham, but as the reign progressed, so did their views on proceedings. In the original prologue of the *Confessio Amantis* Gower explains how he is writing this book at the invitation of Richard, whom he met boating on the Thames, and that he

hopes it will prove of benefit to him. He later rewrote the prologue, saying that he wishes to compose a book for England's sake, dedicating it to Henry. For the changes in Walsingham's views on Richard, see George Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles', *Speculum* 59, 1984, 68-102. *Polychronicon IX* p.141 states that the king's counsellors took advantage of the king's youth.

[23] The continuation of the *Polychronicon* IX pp.42-5 tells of the desertion of the army. Helen Barr, *A Study of 'Mum and the Sothsegger'in its Literary and Political Contexts*, Oxford D.Phil. Thesis 1989, pp.76-7, 141 suggests that the antlers of the deer convey violence as does the use of dynamic verbs. Furthermore, the employment of beast lore implies the unnatural nature of the activities of the deer, an idea she comes back to in "The Treatment of Natural Law in *Richard the Redeles* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*", *LSE* 23, 1992, 49-80 (57-8).

[24] Elizabeth Porter, 'Ethical Microcosm and Political Macrocosm', in *Gower's Confessio Amantis*, ed. A.J. Minnis, Cambridge , D.S. Brewer, 1983, pp.135-162 suggests that Amans is a surrogate for Richard II, a surrogate who follows the three steps set out in *De Regimine Principum*; governing oneself, one's family, and the state. Gower is in a position to advise as he has had to surmount difficulties in ruling himself. He plays on the figure of the *senex amans*, an old man who has experienced the folly of love and is still subject to the desires of love. M.A. Manzalaoui, 'Noght in the Registre of Venus: Gower's English Mirror for Princes', in *Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett*, ed. P.L. Heyworth, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981, pp.164ff. points out that the text contains several teacher figures, Callisthenes, Claudius, Ptolemy, Nectanabus and so forth, and that the coupling of Amans and Genius reflects the pairing of Alexander and Aristotle.

[25] *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, ed. Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, London , EETS (OS 190),1933.

[26] *Mirour de l'Omme*, ed. G.C. Macaulay, London, Clarendon Press, 1899-1901, lines 23173-84. Henry Knighton *Chronicon* II, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, London,Rolls Series 92, 1895, p.219 relates how these evil advisers of the king pauperised the kingdom.

[27] See Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* 4929-35.

[28] This was a standard criticism and occurs frequently in the chronicles. e.g. *Historia Anglicana* II, p.156; *Polychronicon* IX, pp.207, 243; *Historia Vitae*, p.60.

[29] *Historia Anglicana* II, p.160. See further *Historia Vitae*, p.105; *Polychronicon* IX, p.95; *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p.347; *Chronicon Angliae*, p.378. Henry Knighton adds that the king simply could not be without De Vere p.251, while Froissart XI, p.99 notes that he loves De Vere. It was not only he who was a source of displeasure, but rather all of Richard's intimate circle. *Chronicon Angliae*, pp.374-6 comments on the bad influence of Richard's favourites on him and the envy this gave rise to in others, as does *Historia Anglicana* II p.156. The *Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, ed. John Taylor, Leeds, Thorsby Society, 1952, p.127 assign the chief reason for the king's deposition to the fact that he spurned the advice of the greater dukes, and the wise, and adhered to the counsel of young lords, of little consequence, completely inexperienced in dealing with matters of importance.

[30] Knighton II, p.215 records the indignation of the barons. See further *Historia Vitae*, p.192; *Historia Anglicana* II, p.148; *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, pp.184-5; *Chronicon Angliae*, p.372; Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres* XII, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, Matthieu Closson, 1867-77, p.29.

[31] *Historia Anglicana* II, p.227. In the *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, p.223 they are nicknamed the *duketti*, as Walsingham feels the title has been cheapened by the creation of so many dukes.

[32] A pun on the name of Bushy, a favourite of Richard's. See *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, p.259. The poet claims that the king would have been wiser to hang Holland, even though he was his half-brother, than to allow him to arrest Gloucester.

[33] Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, New Haven and London, Yale U.P., 1986, pp.166-7 recounts how Scrope was the keeper of numerous castles, justiciar of Ireland 1395-7, justice of Chester and North Wales, treasurer of England 1398-9, under-chamberlain of the household 1393-8, and received the grant of the 'whole courts and lordship of Anglesey' as well as Beaumaris castle in 1397. He and Rutland succeeded in sharing out between themselves roughly half of the fifteen really lucrative positions in the king's gift, posts which were traditionally distributed amongst the king's household and chamber knights.

[34] J.S. Roskell, 'Two Medieval Lincolnshire Speakers Part I: Sir John Bussy of Hougham', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers* 7, 1957, 27-45 records his career, pointing out how Bushy had been in five parliaments prior to his appointment as speaker in 1394. For the last eleven years of his life he monopolized one of the two seats for Lincolnshire. He obviously enjoyed royal favour as he

was sheriff no less than three times during the middle period of Richard's reign, while the receiver of innumerable royal commissions.

[35] The *Chronique de la Traïson,* p.220 cites Henry as saying that the reason for Richard's deposition was placing the control of England in the hands of these four knights. An excellent measure of their unpopularity can be gained from the relation of the Londoners reaction to news of their deaths in *Eulogium Historiarum* III, ed. Thomas Wright, London 1859, pp.39-40 and Froissart vol. XVI p.327. Henry sends the heads of Bushy, Green and Scrope to the city in a basket as a giftto the delight of the citizens, who vow allegiance to him.

[36] An interesting example is provided by the poem about King Richard's Ministers dating from 1399 in *Political Poems and Songs I,* ed. T. Wright, London, Rolls Series 14, 1859. See J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, London, Bladford Press, 1971, pp.110-2.

[37] Cited by D.A. Facinelli, *Law and Government in 'Richard the Redeles' and 'Mum and the Sothsegger'* University of Michigan Ph.D. Thesis 1980, p.44.

[38] Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum* pp.123, 73-4, 58-60, 228. See further John of Salisbury; *The Falls of Princes*; *Confessio Amantis*.

[39] *The Book of Vices*, p.253. *Ayenbite*, p.258 explains that the wearing of clothes comes from the sin of Adam and Eve and comments that under these elaborate garments the soul is frequently dead within. The type of men who fall prey to this vice are those who cherish their bodies, and it is thus prevalent among courtiers, according to *A Litil Tretys*, p.16. It was also condemned in other poems, for instance *On the Times 1388* in *Political Poems* I.See further Facinelli, pp.188-9; Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp.56-7.

[40] John of Reading in an entry for 1344 condemns the English as madly following the fashions of foreigners ever since the coming of the Hainaulters. As Edward III's reign progressed expensive silks were used in ever increasing quantities, while ermine, which was used sparingly in the early years of his reign, became much more popular. During the years 1347-9, about 3,000 skins of ermine were used for trimming the clothes of the royal family, in addition, to much larger amounts of miniver. See further S.M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, Totowa, Rowman and Littlefield, 1980.

[41] Adam of Usk, p.13 describes how Scrope was attired in an elaborate costume of red silk finished with white silk and powdered with gold letters.

[42] John of Salisbury describes the flatterer as an enemy, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, Book III: chap. 4, p.159, adding that it is impossible to be innocent when surrounded by courtiers, *The Statesman's Book*, Book V: chap. 10, pp.121-2. Adam of Usk, p.5 records Joan of Kent's fears as to the probability of her son's fall from power due to the activity of Flatterers.

[43] Thomas Fauent, possibly an eye-witness, gives a detailed account of the Wonderful Parliament, listing on pp.3-16 of *Historia siue Narracio de Modo et Forms Mirabilis Parliamenti apud Westmonasterium anno domini millesimo CCCLXXXVJ, Regni vero Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum anno decimo*, ed. May McKisack, London, Camden Miscellany 14, 1926, a shortened form of the parliamentary articles against the king's friends. They include much criticism of De Vere and stern condemnation of Richard's counsel. Adam of Usk, p.4 explains that they endeavoured to curb the wantonness and luxury of Richard's flatterers.

[44] Gower's *In Praise of Peace* refers to Arundel's execution as the *synffull dede* (109). The *Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, p.127 state that Richard caused the death of Gloucester and Arundel *contra vota communitatis*, exiled the Archbishop of Canterbury, and as a result Henry plotted against him. Public vengeance is more than justified when a tyrant spills innocent blood, especially as the Saviour tells us in Luke 6: 40 that we will receive in the same measure that we deal unto others. The *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, pp.217-21 and *Historia Anglicana* II, pp.225-6 elaborate upon Arundel's resolute bearing during his trial and execution, and the king's conscience was troubled after the event. Furthermore, they clearly state that it was upon Richard's orders that Gloucester was smothered.

[45] In the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, p.214 we learn how Bushy demands sentence on Arundel. The *Historia Vitae*, pp.139-40 and Adam of Usk, pp.12-3 tell of Bushy's denouncing Gloucester and Arundel in Parliament. Bushy, Bagot and Green demand the charters of pardon to be annulled against the Lords Appellant in the *Historia Anglicana* II, p.224. Adam of Usk, pp.16-17 relates the tragic scene of the breakdown and confession of aged Warwick.

[46] *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. H.C. Lawson-Tancred, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1991, Part II: sections 6-7, pp.139-218.

[47] See further J.A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986. For instance, *The Parliament of the Three Ages* in *Alliterative Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* depicts Youth as dressed elaborately, frittering away his money, rather like Richard and his favourites. Middle Age is steadier, but is engrossed in the acquisition and accumulation of

money. Old Age possesses the necessary wisdom and experience to judge the true value of things of this world.

[48] Adam of Usk, p. 41.

[49] Barr, *A Study of 'Mum and the Sothsegger'*, pp.4-5.

[50] Daniel Howard Embree, *The Sothsegger at Court: A Study of the Middle English Evil Times Complaint*, University of California Ph.D. Thesis 1981, p.18.

[51] See *Alliterative Poetry of the Later Middle Ages*; J.R. Keller, 'The Triumph of Vice: A Formal Approach to the Medieval Complaint against the Times', *Annuale Mediaevale* 10, 1969, 120-37; T.L. Kinney, 'The Temper of Fourteenth Century Verse of Complaint', *Annuale Mediaevale* 7, 1966, 74-89; Russell Hope Robbins, 'Middle English Poems of Protest', *Anglia* 78, 1960, 193-203; Scattergood esp. pp.113, 295, 313.

[52] Edward II started to decline in roughly the year 1360, with senility gradually gaining control of him. From about 1370 onwards he was completely ineffectual as leader.

[53] Edward II was denounced for his homosexual friendship with Piers Gaveston, while similar accusations were insinuated about Richard II and De Vere.

[54] In the manuscript after Passus IV line 93 the rest of the page is left blank, and there is no evidence that anything has been lost.